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Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

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The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

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726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
787 approach it. A small space is mudded in front of the gourd, and thus a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[751] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
789 wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest. The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

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561 class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear 701 that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might 724 cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually 881 goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (win). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. 593 The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, " You are too 881 small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. When a boy has danced in defiance to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to " soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, " The boy went to a dance. You refused,

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but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726]● into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kǭk lanā)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwā). 882

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joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction. It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, participates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this procession enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name, usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set.

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears.

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

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Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Luak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

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good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given